

Message Text

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O R 041230Z MAR 78
FM AMEMBASSY BELGRADE
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 5643
INFO AMEMBASSY BERLIN
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AMEMBASSY BUCHAREST
AMEMBASSY BUDAPEST
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SUBJ: BELGRADE CSCE -- DAILY HIGHLIGHTS, MARCH 3

SUMMARY: ROMANIANS CONTINUE TO LEAD LAST-DITCH FIGHT TO
AMEND SHORT DANISH TEXT OF CONCLUDING DOCUMENT SUPPORTED
BY BOTH EAST AND WEST. THEY INTRODUCED PAPER PROPOSING
SERIES OF AMENDMENTS, MOST IMPORTANT OF WHICH WOULD
ADD EXPERTS MEETING FOR CBMS AND RETURN CONCEPT OF

PERIODICITY TO SECTION ON FOLLOW-UP CONFERENCES. THEY RALLIED SUPPORT OF MOST OF NEUTRAL/NON-ALIGNED (NNA), BUT PROPONENTS OF DANISH TEXT ARE THUS FAR REMAINING SOLID IN DETERMINATION NOT TO OPEN PAPER UP TO SUBSTANTIVE AMENDMENT. SOVIET REP WARNED THAT IF DELS CONTINUED TO INSIST ON SPECIAL POINTS THEY RUN RISK OF LOSING ENTIRE DOCUMENT AND ENDING MEETING WITH AGREEMENT ONLY ON DATE OF MADRID MEETING. MALTESE ARE STILL PLAYING COY ABOUT MEDITERRANEAN EXPERTS GROUP WITH LIMITED MANDATE THEY HAVE BEEN OFFERED. PLENARY WILL CONTINUE TO WORK MARCH 4. END SUMMARY.

1. DESPITE SOLID LINE-UP OF NATO AND OTHER WARSAW PACT REPS IN FAVOR OF DANISH PAPER INTRODUCED IN PLENARY MARCH 2 (FRENCH DEL CAME OUT TODAY FIRMLY FOR DANISH TEXT), ROMANIANS ARE CONTINUING FIGHT TO GET SOMETHING MORE IN BELGRADE'S CONCLUDING DOCUMENT. THERE HAVE BEEN SOME SIGNS THAT YUGOSLAVS ARE BEGINNING TO ACCEPT THAT A CBMS EXPERTS GROUP IS JUST NOT IN CARDS BUT THEY, AND OTHER MEMBERS OF NNA WHO CAUCUSED THIS MORNING, DECIDED TO MAINTAIN EFFORTS TO AMEND DANISH PAPER.

2. ROMANIAN REP INTRODUCED NEW PAPER IN PLENARY TODAY WHICH CONTAINED SEVEN PROPOSED AMENDMENTS TO DANISH PAPER. SEVERAL ARE PURELY DRAFTING OR STYLISTIC POINTS AND MIGHT WELL BE ACCEPTABLE TO SUPPORTERS OF DANISH LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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PAPER ONCE SUBSTANTIVE MATTERS ARE OUT OF WAY. ALLIED CAUCUS IS AGREED, HOWEVER, THAT FOR TIME BEING IT WILL BE NECESSARY NOT TO OPEN UP TEXT EVEN ON APPARENTLY MINOR MATTERS LEST THIS ENCOURAGE ROMANIANS AND NNA TO CONSIDER THAT A MAJOR REDRAFTING EXERCISE IS STILL POSSIBLE.

3. IN INTRODUCING HIS PAPER, ROMANIAN AMBASSADOR POINTED TO TWO PRIORITIES. FIRST IS AN EXPERTS GROUP IN MILITARY AREA. HIS PAPER PICKS UP TEXT ORIGINALLY FLOATED IN YUGOSLAV NON-PAPER OF FEBRUARY 23. GROUP WOULD HAVE AS ITS MANDATE TO EXAMINE QUESTIONS OF PRIOR NOTIFICATION OF MAJOR MOVEMENTS AND A MANEUVER CEILING. MANDATE WOULD NOT CITE "CERTAIN ASPECTS OF SECURITY AND DISARMAMENT," WHICH SOVIETS HAD SUGGESTED TO YUGOSLAVS LAST WEEK AND ROMANIANS HAD PUT INTO PAPER THEY HAD CIRCULATED AT BEGINNING OF THIS WEEK. ROMANIAN REP INDICATED, HOWEVER, HE WOULD HAVE NO TROUBLE AMENDING HIS PROPOSAL AGAIN TO TAKE A BROADER MANDATE. SECOND PRIORITY IS PROPOSAL TO RECOVER GROUND ON FURTHER FOLLOW-UP LOST WHEN SOVIETS WITHDREW THEIR CONSENT EARLIER IN WEEK TO LANGUAGE ABOUT HOLDING FURTHER BELGRADE/MADRID -STYLE MEETINGS "AT APPROPRIATE INTERVALS."

4. MALTESE GAVE THEIR FIRST FORMAL RESPONSE TO OFFER
OF A MEDITERRANEAN EXPERTS MEETING LIMITED TO ECONOMIC,
SCIENTIFIC AND CULTURAL SUBJECTS, AND IT WAS AMBIGUOUS.
AFTER EXPRESSING APPRECIATION FOR NOTICE TAKEN OF

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MEDITERRANEAN IN DANISH PAPER, MALTESE REP SAID
HIS DEL WAS WILLING TO MAKE CONSIDERABLE SACRIFICES TO
REACH CONSENSUS. IT WAS PREPARED TO GIVE UP IDEA OF
PERMANENT COMMITTEE AND ACCEPT A LIMITED DURATION MEETING

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THAT WOULD BE DESCRIBED AS AT EXPERT LEVEL. HE EXPRESSED HOPE, HOWEVER, THAT GOVERNMENTS WOULD NEVERTHELESS SEND "HIGH LEVEL PERSONS RESPONSIBLE FOR POLICY" NOT TECHNICIANS. MALTESE REP INDICATED THAT IT WOULD BE NECESSARY TO CLARIFY THAT NON-PARTICIPATING MEDITERRANEAN STATES COULD SEND EXPERTS TO MEETING AND HE WAFFLED ON KEY POINT OF MANDATE. HE SAID MEDITERRANEAN DECLARATION IS SHORT; ITS PARTS ARE INTERCONNECTED AND CANNOT BE DIVIDED ARBITRARILY. HE SAID THAT HE HAD MADE RECOMMENDATIONS TO HIS GOVERNMENT FOR SAMLL AMENDMENTS TO DANISH TEXT WHICH ARE "SIMPLE, HONEST, STRAIGHTFORWARD AND SHOULD GIVE NO ONE CONCERN," BUT THAT HE HAD NOT YET RECEIVED INSTRUCTIONS AND WOULD HAVE TO RESERVE RIGHT TO PROPOSE FORMAL AMENDMENT AT LATER STAGE.

5. ALLIED CAUCUS IS AGREED THAT THERE IS LACUNA IN TEXT OF DANISH PAPER ON ROLE OF SOUTHERN LITTORAL STATES. CAUCUS DECIDED NOT TO TRY TO CORRECT THIS FOR TIME BEING, HOWEVER, SINCE OVERALL TACTICAL APPROACH IS TO KEEP TEXT FREE OF AMENDMENTS. IT REMAINS UNCERTAIN WHETHER WHAT MALTESE REP AND ALLIES HAVE IN MIND ABOUT POSSIBLE CLARIFICATION OF STATUS OF SOUTHERN LITTORAL EXPERTS AT MEETING IS COMPATIBLE, AND IT IS LIKEWISE NOT CERTAIN WHETHER MALTESE ARE PREPARED TO GIVE UP DEMAND THAT MANDATE OF EXPERTS MUST COVER ALL PARTS -- INCLUDING POLITICAL/ SECURITY PARTS -- OF MEDITERRANEAN DECLARATION.

6. OTHER NNA SPEAKERS ALSO EXPRESSED HOPE THAT DANISH PAPER CAN STILL BE AMENDED. YUGOSLAV REP SAID HE FULLY SUPPORTED ALL ROMANIAN AMENDMENTS, AND HE PUT FORWARD ONE OF HIS OWN, A PARAGRAPH PREVIOUSLY INCLUDED IN HIS DEL'S PAPER OF FEBRUARY 23 ON CONTINUATION OF DETENTE DESPITE

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OBSTACLES ENCOUNTERED AND ON RELATIONSHIP OF CSCE TO DETENTE. AUSTRIAN REP PROPOSED REVISION OF PARAGRAPH IN DANSIH PAPER ON VALUABLE CONTRIBUTION MADE BY "EXCHANGE OF VIEWS" SO THAT IT WOULD REFER, AS IT ORIGINALLY DID IN NNA PAPER BM/65, TO EXCHANGE OF VIEWS ONLY ON IMPLEMENTATION OF FINAL ACT, NOT ON BOTH IMPLEMENTATION AND GENERAL SUBJECT OF RELATIONS BETWEEN STATES. SWISS REP INDICATED HE STILL INTENDED TO PUSH FOR EXPERTS MEETING ON INFORMATION, AND SPANISH REP, WHILE MAINTAINING

HIS WILLINGNESS TO GIVE CONSENSUS TO DANISH PAPER,
SAID ROMANIAN AMENDMENTS WOULD IMPORVE TEXT.

7. PLENARY BEGAN PARAGRAPH BY PARAGRAPH REVIEW
OF DANISH PAPER LATE IN AFTERNOON IN EFFORT TO DETERMINE
WHICH PARTS COULD RECEIVED CONSENSUS. IT REACHED
PARAGRAPH ON PROPOSED MEDITERRANEAN GROUP BEFORE
ADJOURNING AT 1900 TO MARCH 4 AT 1030. SUPPORTERS OF
DANISH PAPER MAINTAINED SOLID FRONT, WITH WESTERN
SPEAKERS, IN PARTICULAR DANISH AMBASSADOR MELLBIN AND
AMBASSADOR GOLDBERG, EXPLAINING THAT PROPOSALS SUCH
AS THAT OF YUGOSLAVS AND SOME OF ROMANIAN COULD NOT
BE ACCEPTED IN SHORT DOCUMENT BECAUSE THEY WOULD UPSET
BALANCE THOUGH THEY COULD HAVE BEEN AGREED IN A LARGER,
MORE SUBSTANTIVELY COMPREHENSIVE PAPER. SOVIETS FOR
THEIR PART ATTEMPTED TO DISCOURAGE AMENDMENTS THAT
WOULD HAVE ADDED ELEMENTS TO WHICH THEY OBJECTED. IN
CONNECTION WITH AUSTRIAN AMENDMENT, SOVIET REP WARNED
THAT HE WOULD NOT EXCLUDE POSSIBILITY THAT IF DELS
DESTROY PROVISIONAL CONSENSUS THAT IS ACHIEVABLE ON
DANISH PAPER MEETING WOULD HAVE TO END WITHOUT ANY
DOCUMENT AT ALL. IN SUCH CIRCUMSTANCES, HE SAID,
MEETING COULD ADJOURN AFTER RECORDING AGREEMENT
IN ITS JOURNAL ON DATE AND PLACE OF NEXT SIMILAR
MEETING. SOVIET REP ALSO REJECTED ROMANIAN AMENDMENT
ON PERIODICITY OF FOLLOW-UP MEETINGS BY
STATING THAT HIS INSTRUCTION DID NOT ALLOW HIM TO
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ACCEPT CONCEPT SO THERE WAS NO POINT ATTEMPTING TO
MAKE SMALL WORD CHANGES. (YUGOSLAV REP CHIDED SOVIETS
FOR APPARENTLY GOING BACK ON FINAL ACT COMMITMENT
AND URGED EFFORT TO FIND NEW MUTUALLY AGREEABLE FORMULA.)

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AMEMBASSY PRAGUE

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AMEMBASSY SOFIA

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8. BOTH EAST AND WEST ATTEMPTED TO DISCOURAGE ROMANIAN CBMS PROPOSAL. AMBASSADOR GOLDBERG AND DANISH AMBASSADOR POINTED OUT THAT THERE WAS NO CONSENSUS THAT EXPERTS GROUP WOULD BE APPROPRIATE IN THIS FIELD, AND EVEN IF CONCEPT WERE ACCEPTED THERE WAS NO POSSIBILITY OF RECONCILING CONFLICTING VIEWS ON LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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MANDATE. SOVIETS ALSO POINTED OUT THERE WAS NO REALISTIC CHANCE OF ACHIEVING CONSENSUS.

9. PLENARY WILL PROBABLY COMPLETE FIRST RUN-THROUGH OF DANISH TEXT FAIRLY QUICKLY MARCH 4. ROMANIANS AND THEIR SUPPORTERS HAVMADE CLEAR, HOWEVER, THAT EVEN PARAGRAPHS TO WHICH THERE IS NO OBJECTION CANNOT BE CONSIDERED MORE THAN PROVISIONALLY AGREED. IN ALL LIKELIHOOD, THEREFORE, IT WILL THEN BE NECESSARY TO RETURN TO MORE DETAILED CONSIDERATION OF SPECIFIC AMENDMENTS, EITHER IN FORMAL PLENARY OR IN INFORMAL CONSULTATIONS. ALLIES WILL BE PREPARED TO WORK THROUGH WEEKEND IF NECESSARY IN EFFORT TO REACH AGREEMENT AS QUICKLY AS POSSIBLE. IT REMAINS UNCERTAIN, HOWEVER, HOW LONG IT MAY YET TAKE TO CONVINCE THE HARD CORE THAT DANISH PAPER IS BEST THAT CAN BE ACHIEVED IN CIRCUMSTANCES AND THAT SUBSTANTIAL DELAY WOULD MEAN MORE RISK OF LOSING EVEN THAT THAN OF GETTING SOMETHING BETTER.

10. AS POSSIBLE STRAW IN WIND, WE REPORT THAT SWEDISH AMBASSADOR
REMARKED TO DELOFF AFTER PLENARY ADJOURNED THAT HE BELIEVED
YUGOSLAWS WERE COMING AROUND TO VIEW THAT A CBMS GROUP COULD NOT
BE ACHIEVED. HE SAID THAT HE BELIEVED YUGOSLAWS MIGHT WISH TO
SALVAGE A SHRED OF IDEA BY PROPOSING A SENTENCE TO EFFECT THAT
MADRID MEETING WOULD GIVE FURTHER CONSIDERATION TO IDEA.
GOLDBERG

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